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FOL TEL SENT SECSTATE INFO TEL AVIV, TRIPOLI FROM PARIS APRIL 26 TH:

QUOTE: PARIS 11550

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E. O. 11652: XGDS TAGS: MARR, LY, FG

SUBJECT: LIBYAN MIRAGE TRANSFER

REF: A) STATE 077837; B) PARIS 11487

1. ONE REASON FRENCH MAY HAVE HANDLED MIRAGE ISSUE IN RATHER CONFUSED AND CONTRADICTORY FASHION IS NOT SO MUCH DISAGREEMENT ABOUT BASIC INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION, BUT RATHER DIFFERING VIEWS ABOUT NATURE OF "TRANSFER" AND HOW TO HANDLE ISSUE IN FRENCH DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONTEXT. ALTHOUGH IN EARLY STAGES THERE COULD HAVE BEEN DOUBT IN FRENCH INTELLIGENCE AND MILITARY CIRCLES ABOUT WHAT HAD TAKEN PLACE, SUBSEQUENTLY FRENCH PROBABLY MORE CONCERNED TO FIND OUT WHETHER TRANSFER TEMPORARY OR PERMANENT AND WHAT WERE LIBYAN AND EGYPTIAN INTENTIONS FOR FUTURE.

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- 2. BECAUSE OF INCREASINGLY SHRILL PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF MIRAGE TRANSFER AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ENTIRE FRENCH MIDDLE EAST POLICY, ISSUE HAS BECOME ONE OF CONSIDERABLE SENSITIVITY TO GOF. ISRAELIS, IN PARTICULAR, AS EVIDENCED BY AMBASSADOR BEN NATAN'S STATEMENTS APRIL 25 (REPORTED REF B), ARE PUTTING GREAT PRESSURE ON FRENCH TO ADMIT THAT TRANSFER HAS TAKEN PLACE AND THAT HENCE EMBARGO SHOULD BE BROUGHT INTO EFFECT IN LIGHT GOF ASSURANCES DATING FROM 1970
- 3. PROBLEM FOR US IS COMPLICATED BY FACT THAT GOF HAS BEEN GIVING US CONTRADICTORY INFORMATION, AND THAT AT QUAI AT LEAST, WHERE MORE SENSITIVE FRENCH INTELLIGENCE MAY NOT HAVE BEEN DISSEMINATED AT WORKING LEVEL, OFFICIALS HAVE INSISTED TRANSFER HAS NOT TAKEN PLACE.
- 4. WE AGREE THAT AS DEPARTMENT SUGGESTS FOCUS OF ANY APPROACH TO FRENCH SHOULD BE ON ISSUE OF MIDDLE EAST ARMS BALANCE AND ON STEPS WHICH SHOULD BE TAKEN TO MAINTAIN IT. IT WOULD NOT BE USEFUL TO ADDRESS QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT QUAI OFFICIALS HAVE MISLEAD US. WE BELIEVE IT ALSO NOT DESIRABLE FOR US TO SEEM TO BE MAKING CONCERTED APPROACH WITH ISRAELIS. WERE USG TO MAKE DEMARCHE IMMEDIATELY ON HEELS OF BEN NATAN, WHO HAS INDICATED INTENTION OF RAISING ISSUE WITH FOREIGN MINISTER, WE WOULD ANTICIPATE RELATIVELY STERILE DISCUSSION. SUCH A DEMARCHE COULD COMPLICATE OUR OBJECTIVE OF GETTING FRENCH TO STICK TO THEIR ANNOUNCED POLICY OF SUSPENDING DELIVERIES IN EVENT FORMAL TRANSFER HAS TAKEN PLACE.
- 5. FRENCH MAY EVENTUALLY PUBLICLY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT SOME MIRAGES FLEW TO EGYPT, BUT MAY CONTINUE TO DENY THAT "TRANSFER" HAS TAKEN PLACE, UNLESS EVIDENCE COMES TO LIGHT THAT PLANES ARE IN EFFECT PERMANENTLY BASED IN EGYPT OR UNLESS LIBYANS THEMSELVES TAKE CREDIT FOR HAVING GIVEN PLANES TO THEIR EGYPTIAN PARTNERS. WE WOULD EXPECT THERE TO BE GROWING FRENCH EFFORT QUIETLY BEHIND SCENES TO GET LIBYANS TO PULL PLANES BACK AND TO GET RENEWED ASSURANCES THAT TRANSFER IN LEGAL SENSE OF TERM HAS NOT TAKEN PLACE. FACE- SAVING FORMULA OF THIS KIND IS PROBABLY BEST THAT FRENCH CAN HOPE FOR UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES. ANNOUNCEMENT AFTER APRIL 26 CABINET MEETING THAT BOTH LIBYANS AND EGYPTIANS HAVE GIVEN GOF FORMAL DENIALS THAT JETS TURNED SECRET

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OVER TO EGYPT AND STATEMENT THAT FRANCE HAS RECEIVED NO CONFIRMATION OF RUMORED TRANSFER SUGGEST THIS IS INDEED DIRECTION IN WHICH GOF WORKING. WE NOTE THAT FRENCH STATEMENTRELATES TO "TRANSFER" OF PLANES TO EGYPT, NOT TO THE FACT OF THE PHYSICAL PRESENCE OF THE AIRPLANES IN EGYPT.

6. CONSEQUENTLY, WE PROPOSE TO PURSUE DISCUSSION OF MIRAGE ISSUE WITH FRENCH (DE COMMINES) -- AT APPROPRIATE MOMENT --

IN CONTEXT OF BORDER REVIEW OF MIDDLE EAST ISSUES IN PREPARATION FOR FORTHCOMING UNSC DEBATE, RAISING QUESTION OF ARMS BALANCE, BUT AVOIDING ANY SUGGESTION THAT WE ARE INTERFERING IN WHAT COULD BECOME EXPLOSIVE POLITICAL ISSUE IN FRANCE. IN SO DOING WE COULD ALSO KEEP IN MINK THAT MIRAGE SALES AND MAINTENANCE OF DASSALLT PRODUCTIVE FACILITIES ARE IMPORTANT FRENCH STRATEGIC AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS. AFFAIR THUS HAS RAMIFICATIONS REACHING FAR AND WIDE IN FRENCH GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS STRUCTURE. IRWIN UNQUOTE ROGERS

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** EXDIS

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